

THE NATION

January 12, 1963 . . 25c

Prospects and Problems

The New Congress

Alan Rosenthal

The Ecumenical Council

THE CHURCH EMBRACES THE FUTURE

Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Freedom After Trujillo

Dom Bonafede

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LETTERS

True courage

New York City
Dear Sirs: If Senator Dodd's investigation of SANE in 1960 did not "abort" the peace movement (see editorial, "Is Peace Subversive?", Dec. 15), it certainly stunted its growth.

Would that Norman Cousins and the National Board of SANE had shown the same courage as did Dagmar Wilson, Blanche Posner and others when attacked last month by HUAC. SANE's failure to defend its members, and even Dr. Pauling, against Dodd's attack, set the peace movement back two years.

Perhaps if they had fought back, a separate women's movement would not have been necessary. Both men and women could have worked together for a movement that was greater numerically and more significant politically.

No organization or movement seeking to oppose government policy can afford to let any government agency censure its members or censor its policies. We owe a great debt to the courageous women who told this to Congressman Doyle.

Henry H. Abrams

Peace tours

West Haven, Conn.
Dear Sirs: Congratulations on your splendid articles on the peace movement. We, in Promoting Enduring Peace, are cooperating with the movement by conducting two International Goodwill Seminars to Europe starting in July. One goes to Africa and Israel and the other to Scandinavia, Russia, England and France. If any of your readers are interested, they can write me at 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Conn.

Jerome Davis

Liberty's defender

Dallas, Tex.
Dear Sirs: The references to me in "Conflicts in Catholicism," in your December 8 issue, are not only unfair, but erroneous.

I am the President of a civil-liberties organization called the Defenders of American Liberties. As such, we defended General Walker's Sixth Amendment rights to a speedy and public trial which the government sought to deny by committing him to a mental prison. I have nothing whatever to do with the organization called "The Friends of General Walker" and have never appealed for funds for the man you call "the horseless general."

It is a sorry commentary on civil

liberties if lawyers are going to be equated with the political views of their clients. I am sure this principle is one that the founders of your publication appreciated full well.

Robert Morris

Too many parties

Los Angeles, Calif.
Dear Sirs: V. C. Ferkiss, in *The Nation*, December 1, writes as if he were adding a new dimension to American political parties. The Communists assert we have a one-party system; nominally, we have a two-party system; the Liberals claim we operate under a three-party system; now, with the first of the Republican victories in the South, political commentators like Mr. Ferkiss make reference to a four-party system.

While Mr. Ferkiss' voice is welcome, he could have done a little more homework on the Congressional elections in California. He says, "The newcomers—such as the seven Democrats who won all but one of the newly created California districts—will support liberal measures, but the men whose seats they are taking, though often unaggressive in their liberalism, were also normally Administration supporters." Among the GOP incumbents who were defeated for re-election in California were John Rousselot, Edgar Hiestand and Gordon McDonough. The first two were open and avowed members of the John Birch Society. None can be called an "unaggressive liberal." They were, on the contrary, vocal reactionaries.

Careful political analysis indicates that liberal Republicans in the House are rapidly disappearing. While the alliance between Southern Dixiecrats and Northern Republicans successfully stifles progressive legislation, the Northern Republicans in the House constantly demonstrate a total subservience to Charles Halleck, Republican Floor Leader.

The election of Republicans in the South can be accomplished, apparently, only by their becoming arrogant racists and more rabidly anti-labor than the Dixiecrats.

Southern Republicans will join their Northern brethren and the "togetherness" with Southern Dixiecrats will continue. A genuine two-party system can eke little sustenance from this state of affairs.

Only Labor and the growing Southern liberal voice, fighting prejudice and bigotry, joining forces with the Negro, can establish an effective liberal Democratic Party in the South.

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Saturday, January 12, 1963
Volume 196, No. 2

In this issue

EDITORIALS

21

ARTICLES

- 23 The Ecumenical Council:
The Church Embraces the Future
Elisabeth Mann Borgese
- 28 The Dominican Elections:
Freedom After Trujillo
Dom Bonafede
- 30 Prospects and Problems:
The New Congress
Alan Rosenthal

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- 34 Freud's Intellectual Adventure
Richard Peters
- 34 African Landscape (poem)
Tracy Thompson
- 35 How Many Families of Man?
W. E. Le Gros Clark
- 36 Human Minds and Criminal Law
Charles E. Clark
- 38 Art
Hilton Kramer
- 39 Records
Benjamin Boretz
- 40 The Picket-Fence (poem)
H. Arthur Klein
- Crossword Puzzle (opp. 40)
Frank W. Lewis

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts
Marion Hess, Assistant to the Editors
Harold Clurman, Theatre
Hilton Kramer, Art
Benjamin Boretz, Music
Carl Dreher, Science
David Ignatow, Poetry
Jane Stolle, United Nations
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As Mr. Ferkiss indicates, we are moving in the direction of demolishing the three- and four-party systems that have plagued American political life.

It cannot come too soon.

Leonard Levy
(Vice President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America)

Force in the Cause of Peace

When President Kennedy sent a special military mission to the Congo to survey the "logistical needs" of the 18,000-man United Nations force, there was a sudden proliferation of pacifists among right-wingers in the U.S. Congress and among those parliamentarians of Britain, France and Belgium who had been giving aid and comfort to Moise Tshombe. There were also the usual riots in Elisabethville, where students stormed the American consulate with banners reading, "No GIs in Katanga," and "Down with Kennedy." Mr. Kennedy certainly was turning the screws on Mr. Tshombe, and he was doing exactly the right thing.

The Nation admires heroic pacifists like those who tried to sail into the AEC's forbidden test zone in the Pacific, but it considers the use of force necessary in many situations, both internationally and within nations. The millenium when the lion and the lamb will lie down together is a long way off. It is scarcely likely that the youngest of us will live to see it. The hope of mankind lies in actions both like those of the *Everyman* crew (see *The Nation*, Dec. 29) in protest against the unlawful actions of their own government, and in support of lawful and necessary force by the United Nations. If, by the grace of God, general and complete disarmament should come to pass, it could be maintained only by a substantial police force under UN control. Conversely, if the UN fails in the Congo, its prestige and power, none too high even now, will be diminished to the vanishing point. This is exactly what the supporters of Tshombe and the Union Minière want. It is also exactly what the friends of peace do not want.

Every case must be judged on its merits. Mr. Truman called the Korean War a "police action." It was nothing of the sort. The UN was faced with a *fait accompli* and dragged into a conflict which could have been avoided by the exercise of a modicum of reason on both sides, or even on one side or the other. The UN action in the Congo is a valid police action and the UN soldiers are risking their lives in the noblest of causes. The chances are they will win: the great majority of 240 million Africans are on their side.

Mr. Kennedy's Spectacular

In staging "spectaculars," the television industry could take a lesson from President Kennedy. At the Orange Bowl in Miami he impresarioed the greatest show on earth. It was also vulgar, chauvinistic and dishonest; but who cares about such trivialities?

As is often the case in show business, the producer grabbed some credit that didn't strictly belong to him. As long as the outcome was in doubt, James B. Donovan received the billing. Tired, working without pay, and plagued by bursitis, he negotiated with Castro.

When he finally got the Bay of Pigs prisoners out of Cuba, the Kennedy Administration moved in for the kill on the publicity. Led and inspired by the President, a smooth-working team — Robert Kennedy, Robert A. Hurwitch of the State Department, Deputy Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach, Assistant Attorney General Louis F. Oberdorfer and other Samaritans — had accomplished the nearly impossible. The spectacular at the Orange Bowl followed.

At one point in the negotiations, Cuban exiles warned that the prisoners' health could not hold out much longer, a bit of intelligence that, according to *Newsweek*, "led to some raised eyebrows when the sturdy-looking prisoners skipped down the ramp at Homestead." The freed prisoners again proved their military fitness in the safe confines of the Orange Bowl, roaring "*Guerra!*" when Mr. Kennedy assured them that it would be different next time. The enthusiasm rose to an even higher pitch when Mrs. Kennedy, in the role of the American *Passionara*, cried out in Spanish that it was an honor to be among such heroes and she hoped her little son would be half as brave when he grew up.

A little realism would be in order here, but it was not permitted to intrude at the Orange Bowl. No doubt there are brave men as well as self-dramatizers among the veterans of Brigade 2506, but the fact remains that the ratio of captured to slain heroes was extraordinarily large. The British at Dieppe, for instance, did not enjoy any such immunity. It is a maxim among soldiers that the heroes are usually not present on occasions of postwar rejoicing; they are more apt to be dead. Nor did Mr. Kennedy indicate how the tyrant was to be brought down and liberty restored to the enslaved Cubans. It will take more than Cuban *emigrés* and the CIA, by all the evidence at hand that recent history has produced.

Such details did not bother the crowd of nearly 40,000 in the Orange Bowl. They screamed and wept, and shouted for war when the President, now actor as well as producer, spoke his best line: "I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana." An hour later he was back at the Palm Beach Country Club.

Man of the Year

It is not often that *The Nation* has the opportunity to fraternize with *Time*, but Mr. Luce's publication has not only chosen Pope John XXIII as its "Man of the Year," but in its department on religion (January 4, page 50) has presented a most moving and enlightening essay on man's fate in a troubled world. It is strange that humanity has had to wait through nearly twenty years of cold war for a great religious leader to speak on behalf of peace, not cursorily, but from his own heart. That is what John has done, and the *Time* article ends: "... in a time of apocalyptic seri-

ousness, man has realized more than ever that he does not live by bread alone. Nor by guns."

The Ecumenical Council, which this extraordinary Pope convened, exploded the cherished superstition that the Roman Church is a totally monolithic body; Elisabeth Mann Borgese vividly describes the results of that explosion in this issue (see page 23). The Church's position in the cold war is a case in point. A large number of the clergy have been so angered and alarmed by the Communists' attacks on religion that they have forgotten their allegiance to the Prince of Peace. But not all the clergy have been so blinded, and it is this liberal faction to which John belongs. He has condemned "the mistakes, greed and violence" of the Soviet rulers, but when Nikita Khrushchev sent him a greeting on his eightieth birthday, he did not heed the advice to ignore it. Instead, he wrote a reply: "Thank you for the thought. And I will pray for the people of Russia."

If there was a *double entendre* in the reply, the Pope's pleas for peace have been unequivocal. Khrushchev is said to have sent his birthday greetings because he was moved by John's exhortation to the rulers of nations "to hear the anguished cry which from every part of the earth, from the young innocents to the old, rises toward heaven: 'Peace! Peace!'" In his emphasis on the desperate urgency of the need for peace, John has also shown his political skill, without which, in the Church or any other organization, good intentions are of little avail. John was elected, at seventy-seven, as an interim Pope, as the saying goes, to keep Peter's chair warm.

Instead, John set out in his remaining years to liberalize the Church, to heal old wounds between it and those whom he calls "separated brethren," and to neutralize those forces within the Church which have preached a holy war against "atheistic communism." Church rightists now know how wrong they were.

"If we should pray for anyone in the world today," says the eminent Protestant theologian Paul Tillich, "we should pray for Pope John. He is a good man."

Danger: Megatonnage Unknown

Even if the world population explosion cannot be measured in megatons, its fallout effect is clearly disastrous and becoming more so from year to year. Not the shrewdest economist can calculate a way to raise the living standards of a nation that creates new mouths faster than the wherewithal to feed them. This is what has been happening in the underdeveloped two-thirds of the world, and the consequences can be seen not alone in the pot bellies and rachitic bones that hunger produces, but also in the perilous international social, economic and political pressures it generates. It was not humanitarianism alone that prompted the General Assembly, for the first time in its history, to place the population problem on its agenda at its last session.

What happened to the item reflects the manner in which ideologies obscure common sense. In the final vote, a resolution was passed — with 69 ayes, no nays

and 27 abstentions — endorsing the idea that the problem was properly a matter for UN concern, and that the world body should furnish its members with information on demography. But knocked out of the resolution was a key paragraph, introduced by Sweden, which would have authorized the UN to provide "technical assistance" to countries that wanted to introduce birth control.

It would be a mistake to blame the Catholic countries alone for the gingerly way in which the matter was handled. The United States did not like the Swedish proposal; our policy — though representing some advance over past policies — goes no farther than to approve birth control "in principle." We are willing to help with demographic research, no more; i.e., we will help other countries to find out that they need birth control, but from then on, they are on their own. As for the Communists, they cannot afford to let Malthus say nay to their dogma; "under socialism," a Soviet spokesman said at the General Assembly, "birth control is not needed."

But the clash of ideologies, religious and political, at the UN cannot and will not impose a permanent obstacle to the solution of this urgent problem. The countries rich in people and poor in resources will continue to cry for help, and in their behalf Sweden will continue to speak up with the voice of sanity. Slowly public opinion is awakening to the fact that the arms race is not the only threat to survival, that the population explosion, though less dramatic, could ultimately prove no less lethal than the multi-megaton bomb.

In Defense of Truth

The truth is mighty, they say, and must prevail. It sometimes takes considerable time, but in the current news there are three instances (and no doubt more than three if one keeps looking) of truth coming to light. Not prevailing yet, but at least being spoken.

After three weeks in Geneva at the test-ban conference, Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania returned to the United States and called a press conference. The Senator suggested that the chances for a test-ban agreement were best at the top level, rather than at Geneva. He felt that we could have an agreement, if we wanted one, early in 1963. Then he opened the bag and the cat jumped out. Since his return to Washington, he said, he has been "appalled" by the "belligerence" of some of his colleagues in the Senate. And since, by fiat of the Administration, any test-ban agreement would have to traverse the "tortuous route" of ratification by the Senate, Mr. Clark was full of forebodings that we would not get a test ban even if the Russians were willing. Thus a myth was overtaken by the truth — the myth that nothing stands in the way of agreement, now and evermore, except the recalcitrance of the Soviets.

Second instance: Interviewed by David Kraslow of the *Chicago Daily News*, General Eisenhower took a swipe at Arthur Sylvester, the Defense Department news-manipulator, though forbearing to mention the

gentleman by name. Occasionally, said the General, governments must color or withhold news: the U-2 incident immediately comes to mind. But General Eisenhower appears to have learned something from that humiliating and costly experience, while the Kennedy Administration seems to have elevated it to the status of accepted policy. General Eisenhower warned (in Kraslow's indirect quotes) that "this can be heady stuff, that such a practice — unless sharply controlled — can easily lead to distortion and manipulation of news for political convenience rather than for national security." He added that news might be manipulated also for personal reasons and, while he did not elaborate, President Kennedy's personal enmity toward Castro is a possible interpretation. At any rate, truth received a boost from an influential quarter.

The third instance occurred in a speech by Representative Thomas C. Curtis before the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, attended by carefully selected officers of the three services and reported by Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, U.S.A. (Ret.), the military analyst of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Mr. Curtis denounced the common practice of having members of Congress announce the award of defense contracts, as if to say: See, I have brought home the bacon. It is all very well for a member of Congress to help a constituent cut red tape and get a hearing, said Curtis, but it is shameful to try to influence decisions for vote-getting purposes. Few members of Congress harbor such scruples, and the speaker received an unusual ovation at the end of his address.

While not a large sample, three such instances of truth-telling are an encouragement if only as an offset to the diet of news manipulation, image-making and lies told in the name of "national security" to which we have of late been subjected.

Shenanigans

Three hours after the British Minister of Defense had told reporters in London that "Skybolt . . . is thought to be lame," the U.S. Air Force announced at Cape Canaveral that a Skybolt missile had been launched successfully for the first time and had flown its full mission of more than 800 miles under its own power and guidance. But all the test proved is what no one seriously doubted, namely, that Skybolt's rocket engines can be made to work. The guidance system is the real problem, and this would need many tests before its accuracy and reliability could be satisfactorily established.

The Air Force announcement is said to have caused considerable "unhappiness" in the Department of Defense, as well it might, for what the announcement said was that the missile had flown its mission and "impacted in the target area." Some Pentagon spokesmen promptly pointed out that it could not have "impacted" because no re-entry cone was carried for impacting purposes. Furthermore, if the missile had carried a re-entry nose cone, it would have landed — according to those spokesmen — almost a hundred miles beyond the predicted point of impact.

Not only was the Air Force announcement a calculated embarrassment to the Department of Defense and to the President — and a further irritant to Anglo-American relations — but it was apparently quite misleading. However, as the London *Observer* points out, it did serve one purpose: it will "galvanize the Skybolt lobbyists, who include the United States Air Force, the Douglas Corporation and numerous Congressmen" into further furious action in Skybolt's behalf. That appears to have been the main purpose of the "test" anyway.

THE CHURCH EMBRACES the FUTURE

The Ecumenical Council. Elisabeth Mann Borgese

Rome
The Kiss of Peace rolled like a big wave full length of St. Peter's Basilica and back again. Having received it from the left, each Council Father passed it on to the right. An Eastern patriarch, in his black, square miter, embraced the white-robed, full-bearded Michelangel-esque figure of an Occidental prelate, who forwarded the kiss to an African bishop, whose young dark

Elisabeth Mann Borgese's most recent book is a collection of short stories, *To Whom It May Concern* (George Braziller).

face, with the big round eyeglasses, looked overwhelmed by the solemnity of the occasion.

This was, perhaps, the most impressive moment of the closing ceremony of the first session of the 21st Ecumenical Council, or Vatican II, on December 8, about noon.

It brought to mind the last act of *Parsifal*.

It brought to mind the final movement of Beethoven's Ninth:

*Join in one embrace you millions
This kiss be to all the world.*

In this spirit the Fathers returned to the four corners of the world.

Thirty-six general conferences

had taken place; 900 oral, 500 written interventions were on record; thirty-five ballots had been taken. But the concrete results were meager indeed: the adoption of the preface and first chapter of the eight-chapter liturgical project. That was all. The Council Fathers were bombarded with messages of dissatisfaction and disappointment by their faithful (New York *Herald Tribune*, Dec. 10). It was as if Congress had closed a session without passing a single law.

And yet it may well turn out that this Council marks a turning point in the evolution of the Catholic

Church; a turning point, also, in world history and in the history of the cold war.

For what had really happened?

The Council, as is well known, is due to the personal initiative of Pope John.

Everybody had thought that after the proclamation of papal infallibility in 1870, there would be no more Councils. "But one nice day," a personal friend of the Pope, Jean Guitton, writes in his book, *Dialogue avec les précurseurs*, the Pope said, "There shall be a Council." With this, perhaps, he has opened a new era: the Conciliar era; for this Council may last long. It may have long recesses, like the Council of Trentum; or it may be followed up and completed by other Councils.

The Pope's intention was "to let fresh air into the Church," to rejuvenate the Church, to bring it up to date and into living contact with the world of today.

It is equally well known that the Roman Curia was against this spirit of innovation, and against the calling of the Council. When the Pope communicated his project to his Cardinals, the morning of January 25, 1959, there was an icy silence—which could signify only disapproval and uneasiness, even if the Cardinals, calling on the Holy Father individually during the following days, would have interpreted it differently. "We were unable to find words to express our joy and unlimited obedience!" An almost banal excuse, comments Mario Gozzini in his excellent, meticulously documented and much-discussed volume *Concilio aperto*. "And a little masterpiece of humor on the part of the Pope who personally told this story."

His sense of humor, incidentally, never deserted this unusual Pope: a man, as Guitton describes him, "of a genius-like simplicity, who laughs at any obstacle." He kept his humor during the difficult times of preparation, even during the crises that followed during the first session of the Council. "Sometimes I wake up at night," he told Guitton, "and feel deeply troubled. And then I tell myself, 'I must discuss this with the Pope!' But then a voice within me says, 'Angelo, Angelo, the Pope, that's you!' And then I think of the Holy Ghost, and go back to sleep."

The time of preparation was long

and difficult. No Council ever had been prepared so thoroughly. For forty-five months, 841 ecclesiastics and laymen—from Cardinals and patriarchs down to members of religious orders and theological experts, were at work. A central preparatory commission, ten commis-

sions were at work, so were the prelates, theologians and Catholic laymen in France, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Africa and Asia. A number of fundamental books, special issues of magazines, addresses, pastoral letters, were produced during this period of incubation by mem-



Drawing by Berger

Pope John XXIII

sions and two secretariats prepared the agenda. They sent out questionnaires and gathered 8,972 proposals and suggestions from fifty-one countries. These were sifted, ordered and condensed into sixty-nine schemata or draft decrees dealing with every conceivable problem, from such vast ones as the unity of the Christian churches to minute details of liturgy or the vestments of orders and clergy.

A gigantic work, whose lasting value resides in the problems raised rather than in the solutions proposed: for that these were doomed from the outset, the Pope certainly knew. More than that, he must have been hoping for their defeat. For the whole work was directed by highly conservative elements of the Roman Curia: Cardinal Ottaviani, above all. No one in his senses could expect Cardinal Ottaviani, one of the main architects of the conservative policy of the preceding Pope, to be particularly anxious to "let fresh air into the Church."

But while the Roman commis-

bers of the Church's progressive wing: reappraising the Church's position in the modern world, defining the "New Theology."

When the votes were counted, the "progressives," with the Pope's backing, had the majority.

The first blow fell on October 13. To facilitate the vote, the Council's General Secretary, Monsignor Felici (a staunch conservative) presented a prepared list of 160 candidates for the ten working commissions of the Council. Rumor had it that the list was the handiwork of Cardinals Ottaviani, Siri and Spellman and that its adoption would have assured the conservatives control of the Council through control of its working commissions.

The list was rejected, upon a dramatic intervention by Cardinal Liénart of Lille—the "red Cardinal"—seconded by Cardinal Frings of Cologne and some others.

The second, and most dramatic, blow was the defeat and withdrawal of the "theological schema." This

draft, prepared by the theological commission, under the presidency of Cardinal Ottaviani, was bitterly criticized as "likely to offend non-Catholics, as being too rigid in its affirmations, and as containing a serious gap: the problem of salvation of non-Christians" (New York *Herald Tribune*, Nov. 17-18). When the question was put whether the draft should be maintained as a working basis to be amended, or dropped altogether and substituted by a new one more in keeping with the tendencies of the Council, a majority voted in favor of dropping it. This majority, however, was short of the two-thirds required by the rules of procedure. At this point, the Pope stepped in and personally ordered the withdrawal of the draft. "Those who had illusions that John XXIII would be contented with choreographical interventions, had a rude awakening," commented the Roman *Espresso*. "With this decision Pope Roncalli virtually liquidated the work, not only of the preparatory theological commission, but also of the subcommittee on rules."

Thus the progressive majority was now solidly entrenched. The third, and final, blow was only the official acknowledgment of a situation already existing.

The whole preparatory work was withdrawn as too cumbersome and not in line with the tendencies of the majority. A new preparatory commission was set up, under the chairmanship of the Pope himself, to fuse and condense the material.

A superficial glance at the majority is enough to understand the political meaning of this revolution. It includes the French, Liénart and Felin, whose records show defense of the worker priests and protest against the Algerian War; the Germans, Dutch, Belgians and Austrians, with a staunch record of anti-Hitlerism. Among the Spaniards, there are the Basques and Catalans, well known for their opposition to Franco. There are the Africans and Asians, burning with anti-colonialism; there are the prelates of the "silent Church" behind the iron curtain who, in one way or another, have made their peace with communism.

Their theses are not yet organized in decrees, schemas and constitutions—this will be the work of the new commission during the

next nine months—but they are printed in scores of books, articles, speeches.

Going through this maze of material the non-Catholic layman is amazed by its consistency, the discipline of this spiritual army. Their writings are all variations of the same theme. They all reach the same conclusion.

The main theme is the End of the Constantinian Age. With this, the Church is entering a new phase of historic evolution.

The first or primitive phase lasted from the Apostles to the conversion of Constantine the Great. With Constantine begins the era of union of Church and State; of the Church as political power whose temporal arm is the Emperor. Faith is exacted by force; imposed by crusades, maintained by Inquisition.

The Constantinian era is characterized by an ever-increasing concentration of power in the hands of the Pope, culminating in the definition of papal infallibility in 1870; by an ever-growing emphasis on Tradition as source of Revelation; by the acquisition of wealth and vested interests, entailing, on the whole, a reactionary economic and social policy and, until recently, an abetment of colonialism. Also, in Africa and Asia, the cross and the sword profited from each other.

Now we see the end of the Constantinian era. In the second half of the twentieth century, Gozzini sums up, "... While one out of every three human beings lives under officially atheist regimes and, soon, only one out of every five citizens of the world will be a Christian, the Church must preach her Gospel unarmed: without the support of governments and laws, in a climate of indifference, always less favorable, if not outright hostile." These are the factors which, in a way, carry the Church back to her pristine condition, before the conversion of Constantine.

The thesis of the end of the Constantinian era can be found in scores of works of these last few years. I quote at random from a speech by Monsignor Lorenz Jäger, Archbishop of Paderborn (January 1, 1960):

From the situation characterizing the times of Constantine—the union of Church and State—we have now arrived at a "distinction" which in certain countries is of a

friendly nature; in many other countries it is neutral; in the majority, outright hostile. Many States seek to destroy every word of Christian culture, or to substitute it with other ideologies. The entering of the colored races into world history, the rebirth of the great non-Christian world religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam, have created a totally new and different situation in the world, which confronts the Church with new and very difficult tasks.

The acceptance of the end of the Constantinian era has vast political implications.

Separation of Church and State is no news to Americans. But to hear Western European Catholics advocate the abandonment of Catholic governments, of Catholic parties, of clericalism, of Catholic political action as such, is rather surprising. And this is exactly what these progressive Catholics are doing. The Church, as it reveals itself in this Council, is convinced, says Gozzini, that

Legal proselytism, state-protected religion, can no longer give authentic and lasting results. Maybe in the past it has given such results; but that was the past; today it can give no more, and even less so, tomorrow. If the evangelic message is to penetrate this secularized world, the instruments least suitable, certainly, are juridical privileges, political alliances, economic ties. We may even go as far as to say: Catholic parties and Catholic governments.

Much encouragement in this sense is coming from the bishops of Africa, where the newness of the political State and the lack of vested interests on the part of the Church facilitate the adoption of such a policy from the outset. The African bishops "will recognize and respect, with word and deed, the autonomy of the State on the political, economic, and social level," according to the declaration of the Sixth Plenary Assembly of the Episcopate of the Congo (1961). "Political action, with its instruments and its powers, and social action, including education and the sanitary and social services, are not means of religious proselytism," according to a Pastoral Letter (1961) of the Episcopate of Tanganyika.

It is this new attitude, this universal acceptance of the wide gap between the spiritual authority of the Church and the totally secular-

ized power of the State, that creates the condition for coexistence—even more than that, for collaboration—between the Catholic Church and communism. And this, I think, is the most important result reached by the Council.

The times in which Marxist socialism was a heresy to be stamped out with fire and sword are indeed over for the Catholic Church. The "New Theology" contains no word of condemnation. To quote one of its main architects, the well-known Jesuit theologian Jean Daniélou, the New Theology must be based on three presuppositions:

1) it must accept, in their original meaning, current philosophical tendencies such as, for example, Marxism, or existentialism with its subjectivistic emphases; 2) it must return to the origins: to the Bible, the Fathers and liturgy; 3) it must create contacts between Christian thought on the one hand and, on the other, conditions of modern life and the concrete problems of our epoch.

Here is what another spokesman for the New Theology has to say about Marxism: "Marxism itself appears to us today as a theory which was valid within the system which is now dying, but is rendered obsolete by the system that is now being born." (Padre Ernesto Balducci, "Alle soglie di una nuova epoca," *Il Nuovo Osservatore*, Nov., 1962, special issue on the Council.)

And, again, Gozzini:

The Council of anti-communism? . . . Those Catholics who have been looking forward to the Council with this expectation, have been sadly disappointed. . . . The rumor that John XXIII blocked during the summer of 1961 a decree condemning communism, presented to him by

the head of his Theological Commission, Cardinal Ottaviani, may be founded or not. It is, at any rate, a fact that the Pope, while deploring the persecutions and sufferings inflicted on the Church, has always avoided high-pitched polemics and has made numerous gestures of peace.

The lesson of Cardinal Wiszinsky, Gozzini continues,

. . . underscored and in a certain sense made his own by the Pope, seems to be far more valid and fertile than that of his unfortunate Hungarian confrere Cardinal Mindszenty. The former opens the way to the future and the Spirit of God in the same measure as the latter is closed in intransigent attachment to an irrevocable past and positions of temporal power that are gone forever. . . . We may remember also the pride of the prelates of Budapest who, in their well-known interview with the Italian journalists last year, rejected the attribute of "Church of Silence" and challenged the journalists to compare the crowded Hungarian churches with those of Italy, usually half deserted. Are we presuming too much if we say that those prelates are closer to the Pope's heart than their Primate, for many years already a voluntary prisoner in a foreign legation?

"The end of the Crusades" thus is one, and the most important, implication of the thesis of the end of the Constantinian era. The Church renounces its crusade against communism. In secular terms: the Church abandons the cold war.

The iron-curtain prelates, on the other hand, fully approve this new attitude. Crusades would do the Church of Silence no good at all. This became clear during a debate on a message to be sent by the Council to the people of the world (Oct. 20). When some of the more conservative Council Fathers proposed the insertion of a phrase condemning the Communist regimes for their persecution of the Church, Monsignor Vince Kovacs, Apostolic Administrator of Vacia (Hungary)—immediately seconded by a Czech confrere—arose and said: "The best service the Fathers could render to the Christians of Eastern Europe is to abstain from mentioning them."

The Soviet Government was quick to catch the message. On December 9, Radio Moscow praised the Pope for his "break with a policy of rabid condemnation of communism, of all-out support of the North Atlantic

Treaty Organization, of calling on the Western Powers to adopt a tough line with the Communist countries."

Well-informed sources close to the Vatican anticipate as imminent the appointment of ambassadors to the Holy See: not only from the Republic of Poland, but from the Soviet Government.

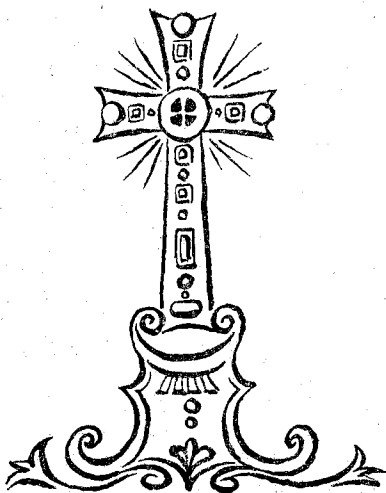
It is self-evident that this change in the attitude of the Church will, in the long run, have a powerful influence on the policy of the United States and its allies in the conduct of the cold war.

Separation of Church and State and the end of the Crusades are not the only consequences of the acceptance of the end of the Constantinian era. Another will be the decentralization of power in the Church.

On the organizational level, this means greater autonomy for the bishops. A redefinition of the bishops' power is due, it is claimed, because this was on the agenda of Vatican I, whose work was interrupted when the Italian patriots conquered Rome for the nascent national state in 1870. This redefinition of the role of the bishops implies also a reconsideration of papal infallibility, proclaimed at that Council and, of course, irrevocable, but open to reinterpretation in the light of the new authority accruing—according to the advocates of the New Theology—to the bishops and the infallibility of their ecumenical councils.

In political terms this means, on the one hand, a dilution of the power of the Roman Curia and its conservatism and a better chance for the non-Latin alliance of the New Theology. On the other hand, it means a clean break with colonialism or any aspect of it.

For it means, indeed, the end of Latin or Western supremacy in the affairs of the Church. On this point the spokesmen for the New Theology have been quite outspoken. "We are touching here on the problems of 'de-Latinizing' or even 'dis-occidentalizing' the Church," writes Gozzini. According to the New Theology, the occidentalization of Christianity, its having been grafted on the trunk of Greco-Latin civilization, is purely accidental. "All civilizations are equal; what has happened in the West, must now happen in all other civilizations in the world.



... It is undoubtedly true that the Indian Church, or the Chinese Church, must graft Revelation to the trunk of the natural beliefs of their people, 'using' Buddha and Confucius for a new theological and spiritual Christian synthesis, just as the Latin Church 'used' Plato and Aristotle to the same end."

Thus the Church inserts itself into the twofold process characterizing our age: unification and diversification—a development toward diversity within unity. In mapping out this course, theologians frequently refer to the writings of Teilhard de Chardin, whose figure, though still officially criticized for his "errors," looms very large behind the official proceedings of this Council. Teilhard was indeed the first Jesuit theologian who thought that the "planetization" of humanity—that is, the drive toward unity around the whole planet—must go hand in hand with an intense "personalization," that is, a drive toward differentiation, natural and spiritual, on the national as well as on the individual level.

"Pluralistic decentralization," "adaptation to local needs"—these are the slogans recurring in the writings of the New Theologians. With this goes the abandonment of Latin and its substitution by the vernaculars in liturgy and Mass. Hence the increasingly vociferous polemics against such testimonies as the encyclical *Veterum Sapientia*, "that is, against the study and intensive and extensive use of Latin on the part of those populations whose *veteres* never talked Latin at all. For it is necessary to avoid any pretext which might justify summary identifications between Western political imperialism and ecclesiastical cultural imperialism."

But not only Latin is disappearing; even the Gregorian chant is on its way out, yielding the place to traditional Negro chant, "just as happened during the earliest phase of Christianity, when it absorbed so many pagan cultural elements."

Thus Romans were amazed last year to hear the walls of St. Peter's echo to the beat of tom-toms, the rhythms of African chant and the clapping of hands as Mass was being celebrated in the Ethiopian rite.

It is this process of sloughing off all that is accidental or incidental, of trimming the faith to its essentials, that is at the root of the new

emphasis on the Bible, as against tradition, as the source of Revelation. With Latin and Western supremacy, the whole Thomist medieval structure of Catholic thought is tottering. Daniélou, to quote one example, advocates a return to the Early Fathers of the Church, who "offer nourishment more suitable for the needs of modern man: for we find in them a number of those categories which are characteristic of modern thought, but which Scholastic theology had lost sight of."

This, in a way, is a return to pre-schismatic conditions which facilitates contacts, not only with Asians and Africans, but with the "Separate brethren" as well.

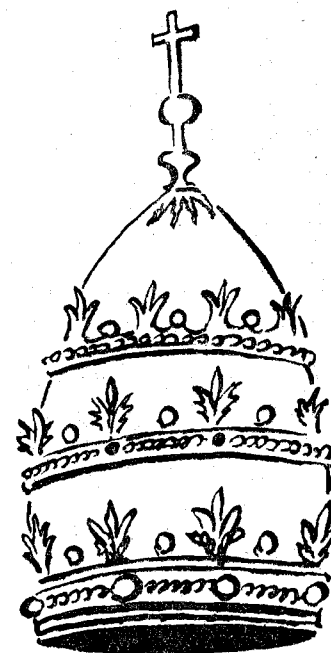
Turning the back on medievalism, finally, opens new possibilities of coming to terms with science and progress. Pope John's solicitude for the cosmonauts, his "prayer for progress" may have surprised many. But this, too, is part and parcel of the New Theology. "Nothing is more biblical than technology," writes Father Daniélou, "for, since the beginning of mankind, God has subjected nature to man, that he should make the inventory of its resources and put them to his service."

Cardinal Frings compares technology, which today is conquering and unifying the world, to the koine, the language universally understood during the early days of Christianity. "The Church today finds herself face to face with a new kind of koine, that is, a universal way of thinking and speaking. This koine is the product of the progress of technology which is valid across all frontiers and iron curtains. . . ."

This new attitude towards science and technology, again, is anticipated in the writings of Teilhard de Chardin, in what Cardinal Feltrin calls "his marvelous perception of a global view of the universe, where matter and spirit, body and soul, nature and the supranatural, science and faith, find their unity in Christ."

This, perforce, is a sketchy account of the main theses of the New Theology, gleaned, mostly, from French, Italian, German and African writings, and picked up in the corridors and lobbies in Rome.

Will the Council's interim commission be able to incorporate enough of it in the new draft schemes and constitutions? Will



John XXIII be there to inspire the work of the second session as he did that of the first? Will everything be completed and approved by the end of 1963?

As the first session drew to its solemn conclusion, the Italian TV—inadvertently—accompanied the Fathers leaving St. Peter's Basilica with strains of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony. What a Freudian slip! As though the Council's great work were to remain unfinished like the symphony. The Pope's illness cast a dark shadow on the last weeks of the Council's work—a shadow that was dissipated only partly by his appearance at the closing session: his firm, unaided gait, the steadiness of his hands as they held the pages of his long Latin manuscript, the fullness of his voice. But the Pope looked pale.

The election of a new Pope, less open-minded, less forward-looking than John, or lacking his rare combination of peasant realism and truly Christian love for humanity, might set the work of the Council back for years, even decades.

But no Pope will be able to undo what John has done. The issues have been put, the alignments taken. The votes have been counted, and the Church, as a force of reaction, has been found wanting. The "revolution" may take long to complete: a new Conciliar era may have begun. Of this the Pope himself is perfectly aware. "I have set the beginning of the Council," he said to a bishop, "God will fix the date of the end."

FREEDOM AFTER TRUJILLO

The Dominican Elections Dom Bonafede

Santo Domingo

With the election of Juan Bosch as President of the Dominican Republic, that politically delicate Caribbean country has a new leader, Latin America has a new democracy and hemispheric liberals a new hero.

The overwhelming victory of Bosch, standard-bearer of the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), returns constitutional government to this troubled nation after thirty-one years of agonizing tyranny under Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo; of equal significance, it adds momentum to the swelling tide of the "democratic Left" in Latin America.

A white-haired, silver-tongued political mystic, whose features seem chiseled out of mobile marble, Bosch joins company with the social democratic politicians Romulo Betancourt, Luis Muñoz Marín, Victor Haya de la Torre and Jose Figueres. Like the others he is in search of a social revolution.

Actually Bosch had been accepted as a peer among his political contemporaries during almost twenty-six years in exile, but it was not until the December 20 elections—the first truly free secret elections in the turbulent history of the Dominican Republic—that he succeeded in becoming a prophet honored at home.

Bosch's appeal was intuitive among the peasants, who make up the bulk of the country's 3.5 million inhabitants. He was for them the crusader charged with a mission to change the old order, while they saw his chief rival, Dr. Viriato Fiallo, the highly respected candidate of the National Civic Union (UCN), as the oligarch bent on maintaining the *status quo*. Asked why she favored Bosch, a peasant woman replied, "Because he cares for me."

As a matter of fact, the platforms

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of both parties were similar in tone and essence. But Bosch hammered at the class issue, while Dr. Fiallo, a stiff-mannered physician, was unable to gain rapport with the mass of the electorate. With the speed of legend it became known throughout the land that the UCN was the party of the rich and the PRD the party of the poor. Not even Dr. Fiallo's reputation as a heroic Trujillo oppositionist could overcome this magnetic, though distorted, contrast.

Bosch was further helped, either through luck or design, by two developments.

In the eyes of the public a majority of the seven-man Council of State subversively supported Dr. Fiallo, and this became an albatross around his neck. Most Dominicans condemned the council (established as a transitional government in January, 1962, when the remnants of the Trujillo dynasty collapsed with a push from the United States) as a mixed bag of do-nothings. The members, who include former Trujillistas, a priest, a businessman and two army officers who participated in the May, 1961, assassination plot against the generalissimo, were held responsible for the country's spreading unemployment, rising cost of living and the failure to disburse bounty from the dictator's vast holdings.

Secondly, Bosch, a shrewd politician, capitalized on attacks leveled against him from rural pulpits by several Spanish Jesuits, who told their unsophisticated congregations that he was a Marxist-Leninist, i.e., a godless Communist.

This injected the Church issue into the flagging campaign in the last week before the election. Bosch, playing the role of the underdog, recoiled under the whip of the Jesuits, thereby earning the sympathy of the public. He threatened to withdraw from the election. This, of course, would sadly compromise the democratic spirit of the election. Without the PRD, a people's party, the UCN would be virtually unopposed and the election meaningless.

High Catholic clergy inferred that Bosch was using the Church issue as a red herring. Bosch reportedly had referred to the Church as an "impenetrable wall," yet it was learned that he paid a secret call on the papal nuncio, the Most Rev. Emmanuel Clarizio, five days before the election.

"He could not come to a more open house. We have been as accommodating as possible with prudence," commented the Pope's emissary.

Bosch requested without success that the attacks against him be withdrawn or the Church make clear its political neutrality. A public letter, drafted by Dominican bishops and stating their objectivity in matters political, was declared unsatisfactory by Bosch. He next asked the Central Election Board to postpone the election for a month, but was turned down.

Finally, on the evening of December 17, Bosch and the Rev. Lautico Garcia locked wits in a public television debate which gained the rapt attention of the entire nation.

Voters saw in Bosch a sincere, unemotional intellectual who persistently placed himself on the side of the people. His opponent, a thin, balding ecclesiastic, was incapable of proving his charges and subsequently retracted them. That was the signal for a Bosch landslide.

The debate, comparable in the Dominican campaign to the Kennedy-Nixon series in 1960, elevates television as a powerful political instrument in Latin America, presaging the day when it will overtake radio as the decisive vote-wooing medium.

Foreign diplomats in Santo Domingo now agree that the Church hierarchy was never a party to pinning the Marxist-Leninist tag on Bosch; they imply that he pulled off a canny political maneuver by using the hostility of the priests for all it was worth. By strange coincidence the issue died as quickly as it had flamed.

But perhaps quite as noteworthy as Bosch's victory, was the fact that

the election was held on schedule with only a modicum of violence. The Castro-Communists — particularly the extreme Left June 14 Movement, firebrand university students, the Partido Socialista Popular (PSP) and the Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD)—threatened to undermine the election (since they did not have a chance themselves) by abstaining from voting, creating a national wave of disorders and forcing the caretaker government to call a state of emergency. Such action would have forced the postponement of the elections.

From Puerto Rico it was reported that some 20,000 small arms had been purchased for shipment to the Dominican Republic. The troublemakers, however, were unable to foresee and cope with sudden developments. A law adopted by the council gave it permission to deport known agitators. Dominican police and soldiers, who formerly employed their clubs and pistols with little restraint, were trained in more effective mob-handling techniques by a United States public-safety mission. They regained control of the streets. And the Cuban blockade crisis, which humiliated Fidel Castro and exposed the Russians as vulnerable to forthright United States action in this hemisphere, took the starch out of most of the pro-Communists.

Extremists of the Left who went to the polls mostly cast their ballots for Bosch, since they felt he was a lesser evil than Dr. Fiallo. Bosch did nothing to discourage this lateral shift.

The entire campaign was vehemently waged. German Ornes, publisher of the newspaper *El Caribe*, called it "the bitterest, dirtiest and vilest campaign I've ever seen."

In one instance, the UCN strongly implied on radio that the Cuban-born wife of Bosch had Communist sympathies. Ironically, her family's wealth had been confiscated by Castro and she proudly calls herself a "*gusano*"—Spanish for worm, the symbol of all anti-Castro Cubans.

Bosch himself has had to overcome a tendency among many Latins and North Americans to visualize militant reformists with beards on them. "I belong to the family of democratic revolutionary parties in Latin America," he is fond of stating. "We are democratic because we want to preserve and ex-

pand political freedoms. We are revolutionary because we want to initiate a society of justice." His brand of political philosophy, he declared, is spiritually attuned to FDR's New Deal and John F. Kennedy's New Frontier.

Two of his closest friends, socially and politically, are Betancourt and Figueres. During one period while both were in exile, he and Betancourt lived together in Costa Rica. The Venezuelan President is the godfather of Bosch's eleven-year-old daughter.

Bosch has inherited an unenviable legacy. He will take the helm of a stillborn democracy in a country which suffered subservience to a ruthless dictatorship for three decades, followed by a relatively brief period when the machinery of government was suspended.

He must get the country's economy moving, create jobs, erase vestiges of Trujilloism, ward off attacks from the political Left and Right, restore national responsibility and find talent to fill governmental posts ("when you are President they come to you"), and equitably distribute, sell or nationalize Trujillo's properties, which during his lifetime dominated Dominican trade and production.

Two of Bosch's first moves will be to put into action a sweeping agrarian reform program designed to provide farms for 70,000 family units from land once owned by the

dictator, and substitute cattle and minerals for sugar as the country's principal export. The latter move is intended to take up the inevitable slack when the United States withdraws its preferential sugar prices.

A poor election performance by Bosch, even a narrow triumph, would have added confusion to the Dominican political stew, which already contains some twenty-five parties ranging the ideological spectrum. Bosch's clear margin of victory reduces the danger of a hostile opposition motivated only to obstruct and eventually overthrow the new President. As U. S. Ambassador James Bartlow Martin remarked, "We need a good loser worse than a good winner." Bosch's impressive strength at the polls further precludes the likelihood of Castroites' recapturing prestige lost in the missile hassle.

Bosch accepts his ascendancy coolly, as a matter decided by destiny. "I didn't want to be President. . . . I was created by my opponents and my friends," he said. "They pushed me into being what I am. What I want is to continue writing."

This internal conflict between artist and politician, between poet and statesman, plagues Bosch, who is an accomplished short story writer published in several languages. (Figueres once said, "At times he is better than Hemingway.") In common with most artists, Bosch's administrative capa-



San Francisco Chronicle

bilities are clearly open to question.

Implicit in the election is the danger that Dominicans are liable to equate representative democracy with economic advance. Dominicans are languishing under the impression that once the new, freely elected government takes office in February, a renaissance will flower in the country. Many are anticipating a Utopia of freedom and plenty.

They fail to note, or close their eyes to the fact, that a democratic government, by its structure and philosophy, moves by evolutionary degrees. This may be too slow for their expectations. For the giant economical and political monster which Trujillo fashioned will not easily be destroyed by attrition. Already one hears grumbling because the domestic holdings of Trujillo, covering every facet of the country's economy and estimated at more than \$300 million, is "just sitting." This includes 40 per cent of the tillable soil. The Dominican people have not forgotten that while they were queuing up in breadlines, the elder Trujillo was living like a caliph and his playboy son Ramfis was sending his polo ponies to Paris aboard privately chartered planes and favoring Hollywood actresses

with furs and sports cars. They expect amends.

Forces which may act as a deterrent to the country's reformation include:

¶A pitiful lack of political experience among officeholders and the electorate. Trujillo did their thinking for them and made the decisions. The political parties, even the major ones, are badly organized and without direction.

¶The basic elements which helped Trujillo remain in power—hunger, poverty and illiteracy—still exist.

¶Nationalism is resurgent and often misdirected along negative anti-American or pro-Communist lines.

¶There is a lack of strong leadership, mainly attributable to the previous one-man government and the reluctance of Trujillo to train potential leaders.

¶The habits of thirty years are not easily changed. Smashing stone idols (2,000 statues of Trujillo have been destroyed) does not necessarily purge the spirit that built them.

Like the emerging sovereign nations of Asia and Africa, the Dominican Republic must establish

political institutions, realign social classes and promote economic rehabilitation.

The job is even tougher for the Dominicans, because they must wipe out all traces of Trujilloism before the country can develop fully. The great danger is that if the social, economic and political reforms urgently needed are not quickly put in motion, the Castro-Communists or the extreme rightists will step in. Though each camp has only a small following, they are led by professionals who know how to pipe tempting tunes to the politically naive.

Should the new government fail to initiate a program of across-the-board reforms and the Dominican people turn to the Left or Right, or the two pressures become locked in a bloody struggle, it would be a severe setback for the United States and the Alliance for Progress. The hemispheric nations are well aware that we are running the show in the Dominican Republic.

Another Cuba in the Caribbean would be too much for Washington's expensively preened posture as leader of the free world and would open the way for further trouble in Latin America.

The New Congress: Prospects and Problems. Alan Rosenthal

Months ago, even before much heat was generated by the midterm election campaign, President Kennedy expressed the choice before the nation in a characteristic cliché: Will the 88th Congress sail or anchor? Although typical of campaign polemic, the proffered choice failed to depict the realities of Congressional politics. For, whatever the outcome of the November balloting, chances were that the Congress which was to convene on January 9 would, like so many of its predecessors, drift along, slowly but inexorably nudged by national needs and Presidential prodding.

Following the election and the

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initial burst of satisfaction at the happy results, there has been a calculated change of mood at the White House. As he prepares himself for the cliff-hanger politics ahead, the President's public statements about the prospects of his domestic legislative program have taken on a cast of weariness and doubt.

There are reasons for pessimism. As was pointed out by Blanche Blank in a recent *Nation* article ("The Meaning of Your Vote," Nov. 3, 1962), Congressional parochialism, the schism in the Democratic Party, and above all the organization, or perhaps disorganization, of Congress and its archaic rules are all geared to defend rather than change the *status quo*. In his mid-December television report, President Kennedy put the problem sim-

ply but accurately: "... the Constitution and the development of the Congress all give advantages to delay. It is very easy to defeat a bill in the Congress. It is much more difficult to pass one." Congressional power is diffuse power, wielded by independent sovereigns or chieftains, and extremely difficult to mobilize for progressive purposes.

During the past twenty-five years, whatever the leadership capacity of the President, Congressional chieftains, and rank and file as well, have eschewed adventurous domestic programs. They have responded to Presidential leadership in foreign and defense affairs, but they have balked at innovative social and economic policies. Perhaps the steady erosion of Congressional prerogatives in an age that has witnessed the general decline of representa-

tive institutions has provoked, by way of compensation, extreme Congressional sensitivity with regard to domestic policies.

The dominant mood of the 88th Congress will be one of prudence. Legislators, trained in the politics of compromise, recognize no recipe for instant Utopia. And there is little compulsion for reform and innovation. Long experience has convinced many members of Congress that the country will stumble along, in the right direction and at the proper pace.

Many liberals wishfully assume that the Congressional mood ill-represents the popular temper, whereas the President's outlook mirrors public desires. There is no evidence for this. Neither Mr. Kennedy's burgeoning popularity nor the continuation of Democratic Congressional majorities necessarily indicates national support for progressive domestic programs.

For example, the issues of civil rights and medical care for the aged are both close to the hearts of liberal Democrats, but there is relatively little popular pressure for reform in these areas. After the Senate defeated the highly publicized, compromise medicare bill last year, a Gallup poll revealed that while about four out of five people had heard or read of the proposal, few had any knowledge of what the bill provided and less than a majority favored a social-security approach in preference to private insurance.

As for civil rights, all national polls since the 1954 Supreme Court decision have consistently revealed public support for desegregation in principle. Yet, only about 25 per cent have supported the proposition that "every measure" should be used by government to bring about integration in the "near future." Recently, the Gallup poll asked whether the public thought the Kennedy Administration was pushing racial integration too fast, or not fast enough. Almost 60 per cent had no opinion or were satisfied with progress, nearly one-third thought the Administration was moving too fast, and only 11 per cent thought it was moving too slowly. If the public wants the type of progress that befits the challenge of the times, its voice has yet to be heard.

Even better evidence of the prevailing mood of moderation are the

THE PUBLIC'S ADVICE TO THE ADMINISTRATION				
	January 1961	July 1961	January 1962	December 1962
Go more to the Right	24%	19%	20%	21%
Go more to the Left	23	15	18	21
Keep to the middle	42	50	51	42
No opinion	11	16	11	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Gallup polls which since early 1961 have asked whether the Kennedy Administration should go more to the Right, more to the Left, or keep to the middle. From the standpoint of those who assume that the public, like the President, wants the nation to move, the results are disappointing (see table above).

Thus the public is by no means clamoring for reform and innovation. If there is to be change, however moderate, much depends on the most artful Presidential leadership.

Heroic leadership, of the sort promised by Senator Kennedy when he was campaigning for the Presidency, may not be suited to the realities of Congressional organization and public disposition. The setting in which President Kennedy will have to operate will be little different from that in which Roosevelt's later New Deal and Truman's Fair Deal foundered before unresponsive Congresses. That is not to say that Mr. Kennedy's prospects are dismal, but only that there are limits to what he can reasonably be expected to accomplish.

One characteristic of democratic government is that, no matter what the objective urgency, a legislature is unable to reach decisions on controversial issues about which the country itself is undecided. The President can propose a variety of progressive programs with little fear of public reproach; but he can hope to see only a few enacted unless there is an appreciable consensus in their favor. That explains why the President's record in the 87th Congress was mixed—not nearly as successful as he predicted while stumping, but certainly not as bleak as many critics assert. While legislative failures by far outnumbered the few important successes, it is still surprising that the record was as good as it was, given a new Administration, an untried Congressional leader-

ship, and an overwhelming agenda without clearly defined priorities (not to mention the factors already cited).

Just as an assessment of the record of the 87th Congress is shaped by one's expectations, so an interpretation of the significance of the 1962 Congressional elections depends on whether one is looking for radical reorientation or merely a slight shift in Congressional attitudes toward New Frontier policies. From the first perspective, the elections were disheartening, for they did little to crush the coalition of conservative Southern Democrats and Republicans which for years has dominated the House. From the second perspective, however, they were somewhat encouraging.

Kennedy's position in the Senate has been significantly strengthened by a net gain since November of three Democrats. When the Senate convenes, the line-up will be sixty-seven Democrats and thirty-three Republicans. The Democratic margin is not quite as useful to the President as it might seem. Eighteen Democrats are Southern conservatives; of the forty-nine remaining, about thirty-five are hard-core Kennedy supporters, four are conservatives, and about ten are switch hitters. Ten to fifteen Republicans are potential Presidential supporters. All in all, the Senate outlook is favorable for the fashioning of majority coalitions issue by issue.

The effects of the elections on the new House are less obvious. In net terms, the Democrats lost four seats and the Republicans gained two. In gross terms, however, the change of personnel gives the slightest of advantages to the Administration. Some of the sixty-seven new men are more liberal than their predecessors, regardless of party labels. According to an analysis by *Congressional Quarterly*, of the sixty-nine members (forty Democrats,

twenty-nine Republicans) leaving the House because of election defeat, primary defeat, or retirement, only twenty-five generally supported the President. On the other hand, of the sixty-seven new members (thirty-six Democrats, thirty-one Republicans), twenty-seven are expected for the most part to support Mr. Kennedy. Despite this real gain for the Presidential party at a mid-term election, the House line-up is far from reassuring. The President should be able to count on a solid base of about 163 Democratic votes and another thirty-two probables. But even with about twenty Republican moderates (primarily from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts and California), the Kennedy coalition of 215 falls short of a majority.

If there is to be even gradual advance on the home front, President Kennedy will have to do his Congressional arithmetic and manage his legislative program with consummate skill. Many believe that his past strategies and techniques, characteristic of a legislative mind accustomed to compromise, will have to be revised. The major criticism of Mr. Kennedy's management during his first two years is that he failed to "go to the country" over the head of Congress. According to this view, the President's main hope lies, not in persuading Congress, but in persuading the people. If he should mobilize public support simply by explaining his programs, the people would not fail him. Rallied behind his goals, they would soon force Congress to follow.

The simplicity of this proposed strategy is appealing. It may succeed on one or two carefully selected issues, but probably no more. FDR's fireside chats did not turn the tide; the unmistakable nature of the crisis did that. In contrast to 1933, there appears today to be no national crisis; consequently, there is no sense of urgency to enact new domestic programs. From time to time, the public does become aroused, as in response to the Soviet sputniks or the deformities caused by the drug thalidomide, and the result is an education act or a drug-control law. But such response cannot be manufactured, even by the most adroit propaganda.



"You see—first women, then Negroes, now Congressmen!"

For better or worse, Congressmen are the people with whom the President must deal. Mr. Kennedy recognizes this. He understands that Congress "has its own will and its own feelings and its own judgment," that getting results is not primarily a matter of trying to turn up the heat of public opinion. In the 87th Congress, he concentrated on broadening the Congressional center and worked constantly at the intricate tasks of creating legislative majorities in order to manipulate at least part of his program through a divided Congress.

It is probable that in the next two years the President will continue to by-pass contests in the public forum (except on a few issues, such as his tax program) and to manage things quietly through further courtship of Democratic legislators. Conciliation, accommodation and compromise will remain the Presidential *modus operandi*. The pragmatic political art of picking up a vote here, a vote there, while lacking drama, is most applicable to the types of legislative situations Mr. Kennedy will face.

There are good reasons to believe that by employing tested methods of persuasion Mr. Kennedy will achieve a few notable successes, as well as a number of frustrating near misses, in the 88th Congress.

First, his handling of the Cuban situation and the elections have not only given the Administration increased self-confidence but have

also convinced a number of marginal Democrats and Republicans of the President's ability and popularity. It is possible, too, that the influence of moderate Republican governors in New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan, and the prospect that GOP Congressmen will have to run with a moderate Presidential candidate in 1964, will erode the amazingly solid bloc of negative votes that Charles Halleck, minority leader, has been able to command in the House.

Second, the President's legislative package will be smaller, better defined and probably easier to sell. There will be few new items, and Congressional familiarity with old ones should mean a slower, friendlier pace and a legislative pipe line that is manageable. If the President also sets some order of priority among his messages and bills, as he did in the closing weeks of the 87th Congress, relations should improve.

Third, the two-year experience of the White House liaison staff and the floor leadership on Capitol Hill may increase efficiency. The liaison operation should become less sporadic and the Senate and House leaderships more skillful. In the previous Congress, for example, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield cost the Administration its medicare and urban-affairs bills in the Senate, through trying too hastily to by-pass the regular committees.

Fourth, greater cooperation between the Administration and sympathetic Republicans, including the acceptance of positive Republican proposals and the sharing of credit (as on the Manpower Retraining Act of 1962), would probably improve the chances of several key bills. Indeed, direct and continuous contact by the White House with a number of rank-and-file GOP Congressmen and the rendering of little kindnesses and courtesies might conceivably bring substantial dividends.

Nevertheless, a few items of the Kennedy program seem destined for defeat. The enactment of a strong agricultural-control bill is most unlikely. The November elections, in which the President lost thirty-five members who had backed him on the first farm bill vote (defeated 215-205) and gained only twenty-seven probable supporters, seem to end all hope for its resurrection. General aid-to-

education legislation, enshrouded by the nonnegotiable issues of race and religion and the thorny issue of "federal control," can be saved by little less than a minor miracle. Chances for creation of a department of urban affairs are somewhat better, and prospects for the youth conservation corps and mass transit bills are still brighter. Aid to higher education, after traveling a long and arduous path, was defeated late last year when a joint conference report was rejected by the House, largely because of the many tempers inflamed by the Supreme Court's school-prayer decision and the heightening tension in Mississippi. Barring similar events, it should pass in this Congress.

In the weeks immediately ahead, several critical decisions will be made. Probably the most important will involve assignments to the standing committees. Some of the Senate assignments will make little difference in the short run. Although Democrats will pick up about eight seats on Senate committees, name the successor to the late Senator Kerr and add a man on the influential Finance Committee, there will be no real change in the power alignments. Whoever is added to Finance, Senator Byrd and about ten Democratic and Republican conservatives will continue to dominate. But Senate committees have not generally proved to be insurmountable obstacles. If Mr. Kennedy is able to command support from a majority of Senators, at least some of the damage done his legislative proposals in committee can be remedied through amendment on the floor.

In the House, however, action or inaction by a committee can determine the fate of any bill. The Ways and Means Committee in the last Congress blocked medicare by 15-10 and the bill to extend unemployment compensation by 13-12. Each of these proposals should be able to pass the Senate in this Congress. Consequently, the behavior of Ways and Means may be decisive. With two Democratic vacancies on the committee, as a result of the retirement of two conservatives, much hinges on the attitudes of the new replacements. (So much, in fact, that it has been reported that Rules Chairman Howard Smith is willing to maintain the *status quo* on the Rules Com-

mittee in exchange for the appointment of a conservative to one of the two openings on Ways and Means.) Since the Democratic membership is regionally representative, the new members will undoubtedly come from the Southern states. The choice will be between Democratic moderates and conservatives, and if the leadership, together with a more secure and therefore more amenable Chairman Wilbur Mills, appoints two moderates, medicare, unemployment insurance and the Administration's tax program will be in much better shape.

The most dramatic battles during the opening days of the Congress promise to revolve around maintaining the three-member expansion of the House Rules Committee and liberalizing the cloture rule in the Senate.

Unless the House once more ratifies the 1961 increase to fifteen members, the Rules Committee will revert to twelve. On this, President Kennedy has taken a firm stand. "We are through if we lose . . . our whole program in my opinion would be emasculated," he declared in his recent television report. Chances are excellent that the Administration and Democratic leadership will win this fight, despite the loss of the inestimable influence of the late Speaker Sam Rayburn. The expansion experiment by no means completely curbed the conservative power of the committee, which managed to block a number of Administration bills in the 87th Congress. Thus there is less pressure to alter its membership once more. Furthermore, it is probable that many more than the twenty-two Republicans who supported enlargement in 1961 will vote to keep the expanded committee, fearing that otherwise the GOP will suffer as a result in key urban areas of the nation in 1964. Finally, Congressmen are always reluctant to bump friends and colleagues from important committees; therefore, a number of associates of the three newly appointed members will favor the enlargement now, even if they opposed it two years ago. The related effort by House liberals to reinstitute the twenty-one-day rule and thereby effectively restrict Rules obstructionism is unlikely to succeed, since the President and Democratic leadership are willing

to settle for retention of the three-member increase.

In the Senate, a bipartisan group of liberals, supported by Democratic Leader Mansfield and Minority Whip Kuchel, has an excellent opportunity to revise Rule XXII so as to decrease the requirement for cloture from two-thirds of those voting to three-fifths of those voting. Two years ago, primarily because of Mansfield's fear that a battle over restriction of filibusters might harm the new Administration, the liberal attack was stalled. This time, with leadership support, liberal gains as a result of the elections, and a favorable parliamentary ruling (or simply putting the question to a Senate vote) by Vice President Johnson on whether the Senate can, at the beginning of a new Congress and before the initiation of new business, halt a filibuster on new rules by a simple majority, prospects for revision are hopeful.

Even more important than maintenance of the presently constituted House Rules Committee and liberalization of the Senate cloture rule is a general reformation of a legislative system which makes Presidential programs so difficult to enact. Although the current national tendency toward domestic drift is not wholly the result of Congressional disabilities, the diffusion of power within Congress, its irresponsible exercise, and the lack of clear accountability for its use make self-reform of highest priority.

In the last session, a bipartisan group, led by Senators Clark, Kuchel, Case and Humphrey and Representatives Reuss and Lindsay, introduced a concurrent resolution to establish a joint committee on the organization of Congress to study and report on modernization of the rules, procedures and customs of both the Senate and House. The proposal will be reintroduced in the 88th Congress, and although revolutionary advances are unlikely, optimists may hope that some of the built-in impediments to unity and Congressional capacity to govern responsibly and effectively will be removed. Long-term prospects, in the domestic field especially, depend in substantial degree on modernization of much of the creaking and shackling machinery of Congress.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Freud's Intellectual Adventure

FREUD. A Critical Re-evaluation of His Theories. By Reuben Fine. David McKay Co. 307 pp. \$6.95.

Richard Peters

Reuben Fine claims that no one has hitherto taken the trouble to ask: "What did Freud actually say? How does what Freud said stand up in terms of what we now know?" Dr. Fine has therefore set himself the task of examining the whole body of Freud's writings in order to clarify what was said and to review the ideas there set down critically in the light of modern knowledge.

To make a success of such a many-sided task would require not only the accuracy and conscientiousness of a scholar and the expository gifts of a good historian of ideas, but also a high degree of sympathetic imagination in order to sense the point of the attacks on some of Freud's ideas. Dr. Fine does an admirable job of clarification and exposition. His book should hereafter prove invaluable to all students of Freud who want a short-cut to mastering the tortuous unwindings of his complex theories. On the critical side, however, he is not so strong. His approach lacks imagination; it lacks a feeling for the weight of arguments and objections; it tends too often to come out with the conclusion that, in spite of obvious appearances to the contrary, Freud was fundamentally right after all on most issues.

Dr. Fine's exposition of the development of Freud's thought combines accuracy with a simplified presentation of Freud's theorizing that does not misrepresent its main features. Freud's own language in his technical papers, especially in his early attempts to develop a physiologically based theory, was often tortuous in the extreme, but Dr. Fine manages to convey very skillfully the gist of what Freud was trying to say while sparing the reader many of the conceptual barbarisms by means of which Freud actually said it. He divides the development of Freud's thought, quite

rightly, into four main periods: the first from 1886 to 1895 when he was a neurologist doing pioneer work on hysteria and related forms of neurosis; the second, from 1896 to 1899, when his self-analysis culminated in *The Interpretation of Dreams*; the third, from 1900 to 1914, during which he developed his first psychoanalytic system, centered upon his findings about infantile sexuality and his theory of the development of libido; and the final period when his attention was concentrated more on the ego, aggression and general problems of culture.

To handle the criticism of Freud's ideas, however, requires somewhat different gifts. Dr. Fine, in a way, fails to convey any sense of the greatness of Freud's intellectual adventure as well as any sense of the pertinence of some of the criticisms leveled against him. Freud has often been hailed as the Copernicus of psychology; indeed he regarded himself in this light. But Copernicus' heliocentric theory was mixed up with a most extraordinary farrago of Pythagorean metaphysics. Similarly one of Kepler's laws was embedded in an attempt to work out a strange theory about the harmonies of the heavenly bodies; and Newton was convinced that space was God's sensorium. When one soberly sits down to read Freud, especially his early *Project* or his correspondence with Fliess or even his *Totem and Taboo* or his *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, it becomes manifest that he

was akin to these great adventurers of science in at least this respect: his speculations were often wild and not at all earth-bound by careful attention to empirical facts. Ernest Jones makes much of Freud's credulity in respect of ideas and people, the constant conflict between his love of speculation and the discipline of empirical confirmation to which he tried to subject himself. In his later years this self-discipline wore very thin. Freud's views on culture, one suspects, owed as much to Schopenhauer, as they did to his experience with patients. But so what? Why should not psychoanalysts be willing to admit that the founder of their system was at heart a speculative metaphysician? For in science it is better to have speculated and been shown to be wrong than never to have speculated at all. One of Freud's great virtues was that he took the risk of being wrong about so many matters.

On certain matters Freud was not entirely wrong. But he was not entirely right either, as Dr. Fine too often tries to suggest. The situation is much more likely to resemble that of other fruitful hypotheses (e.g., Newton's laws); they have been shown not to hold universally but only for a limited range of phenomena. They come to be subsumed under wider generalizations. For instance, few people who have studied the evidence and who are not die-hard Freudians would take seriously Freud's hypothesis about the universality of the Oedipus complex. But this hypothesis could be subsumed under a more general one about the decisive influence of early experien-

African Landscape

There was an eagle overhead, in a late-night sky.
There still was sun, for here the sun burned late.
Some palms waved warmly in a gentle breeze, waters
Were running channel-like, but mostly there was sea.
He wanted an accurate map; the grasses were heavy,
As if in dream. This was a land of constant appetite.
Response was near to death, as comfort always is,
Sense-blunted. Curious item was the weaving cobra,
A happy beast (fine, fine) which fed on mice.
He did not question it, asking little of the land,
Tonight. The air was scented, as if from sugar cane
Or sweetgrass, perhaps a spice from somewhere,
Village or town. The boat was a canoe. Depth
There was not, no great height. A rocky cliff,
The eagle soaring quietly. Not dull but very quiet.

Tracy Thompson

Richard Peters is the author of *The Concept of Motivation* (Humanities Press) and *Authority, Responsibility and Education* (Taplinger). Dr. Peters is professor of Philosophy of Education, University of London.

ces in the primary group. It is similarly absurd to suggest, as Dr. Fine does, that a more satisfactory science of psychology could be built on Freud's insights. For that suggests that the phenomena to be explained in psychology are somehow all of a piece, so that one sort of theory could be constructed to explain all of them. The beginning of wisdom in psychology is to get a good grasp of the extreme disparateness of the phenomena with which it is concerned, which range from things like a judge making a fair decision or a man making a shrewd move at chess, to eye-blinks and knee-jerks. Freud's importance in the development of psychological theory was to have seen that the same sort of explanation (in terms of "wishes") could be given of a limited range of phenomena between which no connections had previously been seen, e.g., hysteria, dreams, parapraxes, jokes, etc., and for which individually no satisfactory explanation had previously been given. They are, roughly speaking, a sub-class of things that happen to people rather than things which people wittingly do or perform. But a very different sort of explanation is required not only for other sorts of things that happen to people, e.g., eye-blinks, but also for deliberate actions and performances. Freud's sketchy theory of the ego is, of course, an attempt to include actions and performances within some more general theory. But even investigators like Hartmann and Rapaport, who later developed the theory of the ego, did not bring out how different in structure such a theory must be—that is, how close the connection is between the "reality" principle and social standards, and how closely the development of mind is connected with the development of categories of thought and action which philosophers like Kant have tried to make explicit.

To be deeply committed to any system of thought like Freudian or Marxist theory is not only almost necessarily to accept certain beliefs as self-evident which others regard as highly disputable, but also to under-value the weight of objections from outsiders. One of the most frequent criticisms of Freudian theory, which has been elaborated by various neo-Freudians, is that Freud underestimated the social determinants of behavior and beliefs. Dr. Fine's reply is in a way typical of his reaction to such radical objections. He quotes the celebrated passage from Freud's

Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego where Freud says that there is a sense in which all psychology is social psychology. But this is to quote the letter and to miss the spirit. For the book in which this passage occurs is an outstanding example of Freud's failure to grasp the concept of man as a social animal. Society for Freud means crowds, hordes or artificial institutions like the army. There is no sense of the social embeddedness of man as manifest in his language, thought, emotions and perception. Dr. Fine has little imaginative grasp of the pre-suppositions from which such objections spring. In a similar way, he underestimates the force of the objections from the point of view of those who care about scientific method and the importance of crucial tests. For Freudian theory, as has often been pointed out, is so prolific in alternative explanations (e.g., the various mechanisms of defense) that it runs the grave scientific risk of having rendered itself irrefutable. It does no service either to Freud's greatness or to the development of science to complain constantly that Freud has been misunderstood and that he knew it all really all the time.

In brief, Dr. Fine does not really give a proper critical re-evaluation of Freud's theories. What he does is to show that in many fields Freud's theories were valuable if radically mistaken. His theory of art, for instance, has been almost universally rejected even by those like Kris and Kubie, who owe much to Freud. But it suggests a whole range of fruitful questions to ask about art, even if the details of Freud's own answers are not now very credible. For Freud's

greatness lay in his discovery that there is a level of what we call "mind" which works according to quite different principles from those with which we are familiar in rational thought. Certain phenomena can be adequately explained only if this different level of mind is postulated. But an enormous amount of work has to be done in order to get clear *precisely* what phenomena of forgetting, let us say, must be explained by recourse to wishes, etc., and what features have to be explained in some other way (perhaps physiologically). Furthermore, far more needs to be established about the ways in which wishes and the various "mechanisms" operate. It is as ridiculous to suppose that Freud was more or less right about all the details of such explanations as it is to suppose that Harvey was right about all the details of the circulation of the blood.

Intellectual adventurers such as Galileo, Copernicus, Harvey and Freud provided an imaginative framework for explanations. On matters of detail and on the range of applicability of their theories they were usually mistaken in varying degrees. That is how science advances—by the refutation of hypotheses and by their subsumption under wider ones. It is strange to suppose that Freud should be an exception to this. Dr. Fine indeed stresses that Freud changed his views radically and revised his theory on many matters; he also, like most Freudians, hurries discreetly past Freud's postulation of the death-wish. Why not then be more prepared to admit that Freud was mistaken about many other matters as well? For Freud's great virtue as a scientist was to have been mistaken in such an exciting and theoretically fruitful manner.

How Many Families of Man?

THE ORIGIN OF RACES. By Carleton S. Coon. Alfred A. Knopf. 724 pp. \$10.

W. E. Le Gros Clark

It can be said with confidence that anthropologists and others have always enjoyed reading Dr. Coon's books dealing with explorations of prehistoric types of man and their cultures, the more so because the author has played so prominent a part in examining the evidence for himself in his wide travels over distant parts of the world. Moreover, he writes

in a colloquial and intimate style (almost, it might be said, in a "racy" style), which conveys to the reader his own sense of intellectual vigor and enthusiasm.

Dr. Coon's new book is concerned to demonstrate that the present races of mankind have a much greater antiquity than some may have supposed.

W. E. Le Gros Clark, until his recent retirement, was Professor of Anatomy, Oxford University. He is the author, among many books, of *The Fossil Evidence for Human Evolution*.

"My thesis," he says, "is, in essence, that at the beginning of our record, over half a million years ago, man was a single species, *Homo erectus*," which "then evolved into *Homo sapiens* not once but five times, as each subspecies, living in its own territory, passed a critical threshold from a more brutal to a more sapient state." In other words, he maintains that a species A can become differentiated into subspecies A1 A2 A3 A4 and A5, and that the latter subspecies can independently evolve to form B1 B2 B3 B4 and B5 that together constitute a new species B.

Now, this is certainly a theoretical possibility, though it involves the conception of multiple parallelism. But it is a pity that Dr. Coon should claim that "the enormity of my discovery" diverges from "accepted dogma," for it should be stated at once that no such "accepted dogma" exists — in recent years his thesis has always been envisaged as a possibility by anthropologists. He also assumes (in his preface) that this is a common occurrence in evolution. But is it? And what instances can be adduced to demonstrate it? Such a mode of independent evolution of subspecies that collectively come to comprise a new species is, in fact, extraordinarily difficult to prove — it must be demonstrated beyond doubt that this kind of multiple parallelism has actually occurred in conditions of complete isolation. Unfortunately, so far as the origin of *Homo sapiens* is concerned, no such total isolation over periods of thousands of years has ever occurred. Even the late Dr. Weidenreich envisaged a good deal of gene flow between different types of prehistoric man by intermittent migrations from one part of the world to another and, if this was the case, the problem still remains whether the more primitive types became extinct to be replaced by more progressive types, or whether the former developed *independently* to lead to the different subspecies of mankind as they exist today.

Surely the solution of this problem must depend, in the absence of a more complete fossil record (which at present is really very meager), on the probabilities of the case. Parallelism in evolution does of course occur, but the probabilities decrease in proportion to the number of parallel lines which are postulated. It is now well established that the species *Homo sapiens* was in existence at least 200,000 years ago, and if *Australopithecus*

was able to migrate between South Africa and the Far East more than half a million years ago (a thesis which Dr. Coon seems to accept), how much more probable is it that *Homo sapiens* migrated many times over similar distances during the 200,000 years of his existence? It may be true that *Homo erectus* in China (formerly known as *Sinanthropus* or *Pithecanthropus*) had shovel-shaped incisor teeth, "Inca bones" in the skull, and certain other features which are not uncommon in the Mongoloid peoples of today, but these features are also to be found in other races of mankind (for example, shovel-shaped incisors were quite common in Neanderthal man in Western Europe about 50,000 years ago). It may well be that *Homo erectus* of China did contribute at least some genes toward the composition of the Mongoloid genotype, but there is at present no good evidence that they did so exclusively.

It seems that Dr. Coon places too much confidence in the ability of anatomists to distinguish one race from another by reference to single isolated skeletal remains; for example, he believes that "Any good anatomist can tell the skeleton of human races apart." If this is the case, the present reviewer is certainly not a good anatomist, and we may refer to the controversies in the past on the racial identity of the Aurignacian skeletons of Grimaldi and the Magdalenian skull of Chancelade. Some very competent anatomists have been led to the conclusion that the former were Ne-

groid and the latter Eskimoid; other, equally competent, anatomists have affirmed that both these paleolithic types were in fact Caucasoids! What we need in order to substantiate a thesis of the independent origin of modern human races so far back as half a million years is a far more complete fossil record, and until this becomes available it is still justifiable, even if only as a temporary and provisional hypothesis, to suppose, as a matter of probabilities, that the modern subspecies of mankind became differentiated after *Homo sapiens* had in fact become established as a definitive species.

It is not easy to review a book of this kind in short summary. Dr. Coon's survey of human evolution covers a vast field and is a tribute to his immense industry and wide knowledge. It is, indeed, a mine of useful information. But not a few of his statements require to be examined in close detail before they can be accepted in their entirety. For example, it is really not enough to say of Rhodesian man that "None of these bones deviate conspicuously from those of the modern Negroes"; this may be quite correct, but then neither do they deviate conspicuously from those of other human races.

If this review should seem to be unduly critical of Dr. Coon's valuable book, it should be emphasized that the author implicitly asks for criticism. His work will most certainly provide an incentive for much stimulating inquiry.

Human Minds and Criminal Law

LAW AND PSYCHIATRY: *Cold War or Entente Cordiale?* By Sheldon Glueck. Johns Hopkins Press. 181 pp. \$4.95.

Charles E. Clark

This informative little book on the most exciting medico-legal problem of the day contains the Isaac Ray Award Lectures for 1962, given at Tulane University. The award committee made a wise selection, for Professor Glueck has given in succinct and readable form a very complete statement of present developments in an area where law is being profoundly shaped by new medical knowledge.

Here we run at once into the age-old problem of defining insanity as a defense in criminal prosecutions, to which Professor Glueck naturally de-

votes a major part of his book. The problem is indeed fascinating. Since the judges of England first announced it in 1843, English and American courts have been trying to pour meaning into the famous right-wrong test of *M'Naghten's Case* — the principle that a jury must decide whether or not an accused claiming to be insane possesses a sufficient degree of reason to know he was doing an act that was "wrong." This test is sufficiently vague that sympathetic judges and juries, if so minded, can show mercy to the mentally diseased under indictment. This probably has happened

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from time to time; no records are made of acquittals. Appeals lie only from convictions, and these have seemed to show a distressing harshness, made the more striking by a noticeable failure to take note of modern psychiatric learning. For, as Dr. Glueck says, the most devastating criticism of the *M'Naghten* test, apart from its illusory precision, is the psychiatric one: it unscientifically abstracts out of the total personality only one of its elements, the cognitive capacity, which in an age that recognizes the influence of unconscious motivation has been found not to be the most significant mental influence in conduct and its disorders. Nevertheless it has remained the exclusive yardstick for the majority of American states; the others, with one exception, have tempered it somewhat by adding another measure of irresponsibility in the even vaguer concept of "irresistible impulse." The exception has been New Hampshire, where Judge Doe in 1871 evolved a broader test that omits all reference to the cognitive capacity and relies upon a jury finding that the criminal act is the product of mental disease.

Increasing criticism, however, of both the vagueness of the *M'Naghten* test and its wide variance from the teachings of modern psychiatry culminated in the famous *Durham* decision of 1954 in the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. It reversed a conviction based on *M'Naghten* and stated a new test tending toward, though not identical with, the New Hampshire approach. *Durham* has been treated as revolutionary in its repudiation of the earlier authorities; and it has caused the courts before which the issue has since arisen at least to re-examine their stated premises. The amount of legal writing it has stimulated in both judicial decisions and the law reviews is phenomenal. But notwithstanding this turmoil, actual results in the restatement of legal principles appear to have been slight. The indefiniteness of the *Durham* substitute rule and the feared possibility that many socially dangerous criminals would be released have led most courts to retain their old rule.

Naturally, the chief problem has been as to the inclusion of a cognitive element in the definition. For here we are back to the fundamental and presently insoluble question of freedom of will. The *Durham* judges and those who would follow their

teaching would omit any specific reference to cognition and require the jury to find, for the defense of insanity, only a causal connection between the accused's defective mental condition and his criminal act. This leaves such a broad basis for excuse of violence, with the burden of proof still generally left with the prosecution (although this is a problem in itself), that most courts and commentators steer clear of it. Others try to improve upon the test by adding a restatement of the cognitive element, as is done, for example, in the American Law Institute's Model Penal Code, excusing responsibility for criminal conduct where as a result of mental disease or defect the accused "lacks substantial capacity either to appreciate the criminality [wrongfulness] of his conduct or to conform his conduct to the requirement of the law." This test of capacity to conform conduct to the requirements of the law has been reiterated elsewhere, as by a distinguished former Isaac Ray lecturer, Chief Judge Biggs for the Third Circuit in the *Currens* case in 1961. This does seem a more meaningful statement than that of the old *M'Naghten* test; in final essence, however, it appears to be at most a more sophisticated statement of the ability to tell right from wrong. And there the dilemma of definition still persists, with the proponents of cognition as an element still in the lead. In the present state of knowledge and current ideas of morality no further solution appears immediately possible.

Professor Glueck tells with verve and succinctness this fascinating story of the law trying without too great success to keep abreast of modern scientific knowledge. One cannot ask for a better way of learning how this dilemma has developed and what its milestones are. His own sympathy is clearly with the *Durham* exposition, which he defends vigorously against its critics. Interestingly enough, however, when he comes to set forth his own formula he reintroduces the element of cognition in words not unlike, though perhaps more colloquial and understandable than, those of the American Law Institute or the *Currens* case. But his is a workable formula which should help to modernize criminal trials.

Fascinating as are the problems presented by the defense of insanity, yet it actually occurs in only the occasional great case. Hence it is not

the whole story, or possibly even the most important part, of the hoped-for collaboration of law and psychiatry. Over the long pull the daily participation of psychiatrists in the administration of the criminal law is vitally necessary, and the experience under the Massachusetts Briggs Law providing for psychiatric examination of all persons accused of certain crimes is promising. So are the clinics, such as the Baltimore Criminal Court Clinic, to aid courts in assessing cases for commitment to mental hospitals, in decisions as to sentencing, and in providing information for probation officers. These are prophetic signs which may indeed signify the opening of new worlds where judges may act knowledgeably in the treatment of the mentally ill. Unfortunately the immediate obstacles are substantial to such a psychiatric implementation of the law. Perhaps most important is the critical shortage of psychiatrists and other trained personnel,



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though Professor Glueck does stress also the shabby condition of public mental hospitals and the pressing need for intensive and imaginative research to improve professional techniques. Scientific public service is ill-rewarded at best, and this particular field has not yet received the professional acclaim it deserves and needs. This book should improve attitudes and practices by the wealth of knowledge it contributes and by the sense of dedication it inspires.

ART

Hilton Kramer

The exhibition of paintings and drawings by the late Arshile Gorky which William C. Seitz has brought to the Museum of Modern Art presents us with the most comprehensive view we have had to date of an artist whose work played a pivotal role in the transformation of European modernism into the ideas and achievements of the postwar New York School. Long before his death by suicide in 1948, long before the artist himself had created anything like a style of his own out of the precedents of modern French painting, whose votary he remained to the end, Gorky figured as an influential presence on the New York scene, and his legend still pervades the discussion and gossip (and now the art-historical studies) of the good old days when everyone was poor and serious, and painting at full strength.

Yet the passage of time has done much to detach Gorky's *oeuvre* from the vicissitudes of the New York School and to locate it in the larger context of American art as a whole. For Gorky's immediate contemporaries — had he lived, he would now be fifty-eight — the present exhibition may be seen, perhaps, as a memorial to an earlier stage of their own struggles and aspirations. But to other and younger eyes it has the look and the appeal of history, and will be judged as we judge history, without the pieties and affections that accrue to a body of work whose flaws and achievements are mediated for us by a thick web of personal association. As history, Gorky is already remote from the current concerns of most artists who might have been expected to follow his lead. Whether or not Clement Greenberg's judgment — that Gorky "finished rather than started something" — proves to be absolutely true

in the long run, it is a judgment which finds ample support in the art that has been produced in New York over the last decade. Few younger artists are any longer influenced by Gorky's style, and few even share in the particular kind of ambition he aspired to. The drift of the New York School, insofar as it can still be said to exist as a meaningful entity, has been toward the flat, chromatic patterning of Rothko, Newman and Still, toward optical effects and unbroken planes of color, and specifically away from the drawing and metaphor, the crowded visual incident and intricate structure, which dominated Gorky's vision. Even De Kooning, Gorky's close friend and artistic ally, has moved further and further away from a style of painting in which drawing performs clear and essential functions.

Following so soon upon the centennial exhibition of Arthur B. Davies and barely a year after the return of the Marsden Hartley exhibition from its tour of European museums, the Gorky retrospective reiterates some of the basic predicaments that have plagued the careers of American artists who set out to become heirs of European culture. Much of what had seemed peculiar to the nature of Gorky's talent and his temperament, much that seemed inextricably woven into his tragic fate, may now be seen to take its place in a persistent national pattern, with the result that his failures and limitations, if not his successes, seem less personal and more cultural. His devotion to Ingres and Cézanne was not unlike Davies' worship of Botticelli and Puvis de Chavannes; his discipleship to Cubism had a parallel in Hartley's immersion in Fauvist Expressionism. Like Davies and Hartley, Gorky suffered — both personally and in his art — from an arduous effort to assimilate the innovations of European modernism, not only to his own experience but to the most exalted ambitions of the old masters, and yet to make his experience contribute something crucial to the very form which his art might take in the process.

All three artists (and how many others in our history?) gambled on the hope that a total submission to European aesthetic culture would not alienate them from the native sources of feeling which are essential to the creation of significant art. They proceeded on the assumption (not always confidently held) that their aesthetic

education would eventually place them in a position to repossess their own experience in the highest artistic terms. Davies, I think, lost the gamble; if not completely, then so far as a body of work commensurate with his talents was concerned. In their different, flawed ways and not as completely as they hoped, Gorky and Hartley won. At least they came away with more that was their own than did many others who played for the same stakes.

The early Cézannesque pictures in the Gorky show are affecting in their mastery of a convention. They are studious and intelligent, and painted with real conviction. They signify a remarkable talent, though in retrospect one may see that their ambition goes hand in hand with a tendency for the artist to abase himself in the presence of the masters, a tendency to self-immolation that Gorky was never to overcome. The rooms devoted to Gorky's long struggle to possess and transcend the late Cubist manner of Picasso, which struggle dominates most of his work of the thirties and represents his coming-of-age as an artist, are impressive too; but they are also at times unbearably distressing. It is not the failure of these Picassoid pictures to be absolutely original that disturbs; there is, in fact, a pressure of feeling in nearly all of them that is intensely personal. On the contrary, they are disturbing because the weight of personal expression invested in them is so marked and so very much at odds, emotionally, with the dry, architectonic disposition of an idiom fundamentally inapposite to Gorky's passionate temperament. One sees a man imprisoned for more than a decade in an artistic ideal that renders his own deepest feelings all but superfluous.

Surrealism broke the spell that Picasso's late Cubism had cast on Gorky's imagination. Surrealism, with its commitment to automatism, psychoanalysis and the erotic, threw open the possibility that a grand style (for Gorky aspired to nothing less) might be made of purely subjective materials. Surrealism released his prodigious gifts as a draftsman, and gave him access to an iconography consisting of intricate visual metaphors which symbolized, without literally representing, the great emotional themes to which he thenceforth, in the forties, devoted his art. As a movement in the visual arts, Surrealism

had always been to some extent a theory in search of a style. Gorky, along with Miró and Matta, provided a style that went a long way toward realizing the movement's theoretical goals. The pictures of Gorky's late period — *The Liver Is the Cock's Comb*, *The Agony*, the two versions of *The Betrothal*, *The Plough* and *the Song* and others — comprise an amazing series of dialectical confrontations between the imaginary erotic cosmologies delineated with finical exactitude in his copious drawings (in themselves an achievement of real magnificence which already rivals the paintings) and the ambitious pictorial architecture of late Cubism, here at last compelled to submit to the pressure of the artist's emotions.

Gorky achieved his grand style. In creating a significant amalgam of Cubist syntax and Surrealist imagery, he won his place as heir to the European inheritance. He won his gamble with Europe. But even to win at such an arduous game is often to lose a great deal. One notes that the terms on which Gorky won his place had all been drastically narrowed in the process of winning. His style remained to the end an exalted pastiche, and painting itself had had to become a completely self-enclosed system before so subjective a vision as his

finally was could even be conceived as the basis of an art on the scale of the masters. Even within this enclosed system there remained a fundamental disjunction between feeling, which in Gorky is always synonymous with line, and painted form. Color, for all its radiance, remained hostage to the will of the draftsman.

One wonders, too, if a change in the artistic weather might not expose Gorky's late works to charges of what Yvor Winters has in another connection called poetic pseudo-reference. To eyes used to looking at the recent works of Rothko, Newman, De Kooning, Motherwell, et al., Gorky's metaphorical inventions look immensely rich and suggestive. But a return to a more rational and objective imagery in painting might very well show them up as being radically deficient in the meanings at which they deliciously hint — but only hint. Right now, no one is inclined to press upon painting a demand for the kind of metaphorical and iconographic coherence that such a criticism would be obliged to invoke, but this reluctance is itself a function of our fragmented aesthetics and implies an unwillingness on our part to take Gorky's metaphorical invention — and the whole idea of metaphor in painting — completely seriously.

is equivalently uniform and slow throughout, and the texture is either steadily maintained or consists of the alteration of a few large blocks. In this context, even the subtlest changes in dynamic, register and timbre, which would go completely unnoticed in more active surroundings, can be rendered intelligible and, despite the overall stasis, can satisfy the conditions of a complete formal statement.

The most intriguing aspect of these works is unquestionably the way they make the listener intensely aware, as perhaps no other music does, of the sharply individual characteristics of instruments, in terms of how they are made to sound, how they respond, how their responses to the same general articulative command (such as staccato or legato) are dissimilar, as well as how their particular way of being fingered, bowed, blown, struck, etc., determines the very different melodic and rhythmic figures that can be attained.

Otto Klemperer's recorded performance of the *Brandenburg Concerti* is the first to reveal a full awareness of their special qualities and a

RECORDS Benjamin Boretz

The six Bach *Brandenburg Concerti* are a prophetic realization of a remarkable structural idea: the creation of large-scale instrumental forms whose essential articulations are projected mainly through tone-color variation, in terms of matching and contrasting timbral volumes, weights and intensities. Each concert displays a unique facet of the idea of instrumental differentiation and similitude, and every ensemble is not only distinctively composed but also displays a particular degree of textural density, contrast, brilliance and dynamic and registral range. These qualities also determine the nature of the melodic and rhythmic materials which, in a sense, are reversed in function so that they take on a curiously "neutral" role like the one ordinarily assigned to an instrumental "medium" whose function is to direct attention to the principal carriers of the forward motion. As a result, too, the usual developmental pattern of variable melodic

and harmonic elements defined against more or less regular instrumental repetition also tends to reverse, so that melodic and rhythmic figures, and even the harmonic movement, seem only a reflection of the striking changes in instrumentation.

Thus in the first movement of the first concerto, the rich-textured ensemble is divided into three homogeneous timbral groups (oboes, horns, strings), each of which maintains its own repetitive melodic-rhythmic pattern against the others in various combinations of simultaneity, giving the sense of the constant addition and subtraction of large volumes of independent sonorities whose appearances contribute to the total ensemble without losing their individual identities. On the other hand, the instrumental group of the sixth concerto (violas, violas da gamba, cello, continuo) creates a sonic atmosphere of minimal differentiation. Therefore, the harmonic and melodic movement

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deep sense of how they are to be projected. Unlike every other conductor who has attempted them, Klemperer is not misled into finding them "pretty," or imposing a "grand manner" which is supposed to lend them a substance they presumably lack in themselves, or invoking "performance practice" rules which may apply to all of the ten thousand other Baroque concertos, but cannot possibly apply to a group of works which follows the generalities of such conventions at no perceivable point. Instead, he copes brilliantly with such problem as that of balancing, in the Second Concerto,

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A picket-fence once stood in view: pickets, with space for looking through.

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and took the intervening space and built with it a big Show Place.

The stupid fence then stood its ground, just pickets, minus space around —

a sight quite nasty and detested; the Senate, hence, had it arrested.

The architect, still, got away to Afri- or Ameri-cay.

H. Arthur Klein

translated from *Der Lattenzaun* by Christian Morgenstern

a solo group consisting of such utterly contrasting instruments as trumpet, flute, violin and oboe, all of whom are not only constantly exchanging roles (trumpet plays accompaniment to violin!) but sometimes play together as a four-voiced contrapuntal complex. He is also aware of the futility of emphasizing the reappearance of the fugue subject of No. 4, last movement, since this is the one most clearly established element and thus tends to be heard at the expense of the other voices in any case. Dynamic problems are especially severe, since perceptible crescendos and decrescendos would utterly destroy the structure of fixed volumes on which all the sense of the

concertos depends. But this, in turn, has nothing to do with the pedant's "no dynamics," which simply means the abandonment of the possibility of making distinctions between sectional intensities.

Among the most successful aspects of the performances are the rather slow tempi adopted by Klemperer. Particularly in the opening movement of No. 1, where dense textural elements are in continual juxtaposition, crisscrossing in the same register, the deliberation leaves exactly the necessary amount of room so that notes belonging to different timbral groups pass one another without colliding, and hence preserve beautifully the sense of individuation within the ensemble that is essential to the movement. The cross-rhythm in the horns that signals the cadences is also rendered perceptually significant for the first time in my experience.

The performance of No. 5, however, seems clearly superior to all the rest, in large part because of the superlative harpsichord playing of George Malcolm, the superlative sound of his harpsichord, and the excellent quality of the recording. The most exciting experience in the entire set was actually to hear the little curl with which the harpsichord enters amid the ensemble in the first movement. Almost as memorable was the conductor's maintenance of the sense of phrase during the long stretches of flute fragments, as well as the imperceptible bringing of the flute sound under the harpsichord in preparation for the cadenza — this is done by a decrescendo, but it is so controlled that it sounds like a change in registration.

The soloists are uniformly flawless, but one notes especially Adolf Scherbaum's high trumpet playing in No. 2 and Hugh Bean's articulation of every note in the whirlwind violin music of No. 4. The ensemble precision, especially in the wind attacks, and the beauty of instrumental sound attained by the Philharmonia under Klemperer has been noted here before, but it seems, if anything, still more unforced in these performances. Perhaps the difference is principally in the recorded sound, which, as mentioned above, is superb.

BACH: *Brandenburg Concerti* (complete). Hugh Bean, violin; Adolf Scherbaum, trumpet; Gareth Morris, Arthur Ackroyd, flutes; Sidney Sutcliffe, oboe; George Malcolm, harpsichord. Philharmonia Orchestra. Otto Klemperer, cond. Angel 3627 B (S).

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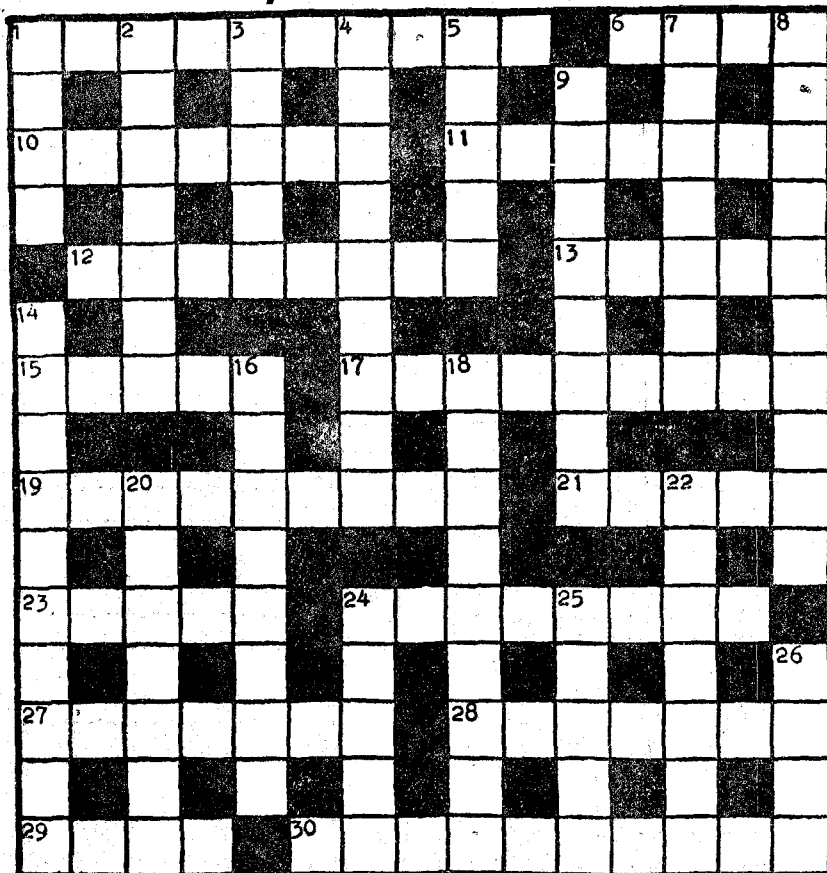
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Crossword Puzzle No. 993

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

- 1 With this you would be equipped if your friend accepts the challenge. (It might be easier to make the grade with it.) (6, 4)
- 10 You might not have much to say if someone steals yours. (7)
- 11 Mobile state. (7)
- 12 Heaven's were horsed upon the sightless couriers of the air, according to Shakespeare. (8)
- 13 Tennyson's evidently didn't work much. (5)
- 15 Rank conformity to law! (5)
- 17 Trial robe, such as might fit Bolivar. (9)
- 19 and 21 Give up such small things as a ritual? They might bring others home! (9, 5)
- 23 Makes kitty a little fatter. (5)
- 24 and 5 down What some politicians do suggests a picture window near the clock. (4, 4, 5)
- 27 Do captains lose their heads over them at breakfast? (7)
- 28 Declined to be one's favorite sort of animal. (7)
- 29 Rose like 10, according to Kipling. (4)
- 30 Williamson or Macdonald might be my captor in the outbreak. (10)
- 3 Is part of Indiana directly beneath? (5)
- 4 Waist, generally speaking. (9)
- 7 You might find the answer hard. (7)
- 8 If you do, you might offend a stranger on board ship, in a way. (10)
- 9 and 6 across Certainly not fancy material. (6-2-4)
- 14 Might a British racing enterprise be so conservative? (10)
- 16 Foreign money obtained judicially and released again. (8)
- 18 One doesn't always appreciate the point of his charges. (9)
- 20 Monkey, perhaps, with what Tom finds underfoot? (4-3)
- 22 What to do with a dead bloke in the meantime? (7)
- 24 Clothing a goddess designed? (5)
- 25 Found now at Wagner's idea of what Dino might make. (5)
- 26 If a fairy lead the way, a forceful word would be regular. (4)

DOWN:

- 1 Places the composition of matches in dishes. (4)
- 2 Expressed the idea of being retired? (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 992

ACROSS: 1 Plumber's helper; 9 Oakland; 10 and 2 Address unknown; 11 Nooses; 12 Swan Lake; 14 and 21 across Neat but not gaudy; 15 Their; 17 Sowed; 19 Unreels; 23 Escape; 25 Brittle; 26 Burgess; 27 Process servers. DOWN: 1 Prognosis; 3 Brakeband; 4 Ride; 5 Headwaters; 6 Laden; 7 Elevate; 8 Isle; 13 Absurdness; 15 Treasurer; 16 Represses; 18 Wittier; 20 Scalene; 21 Nibs; 22 Antic; 24 Ebbs.

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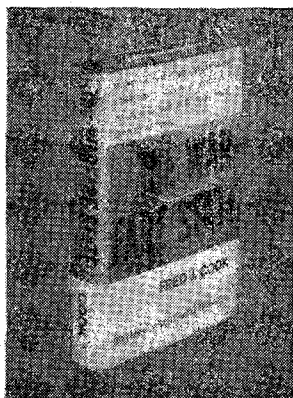
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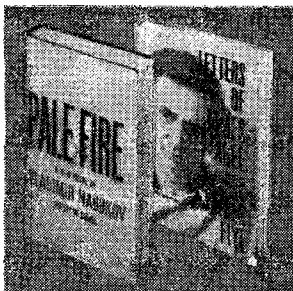
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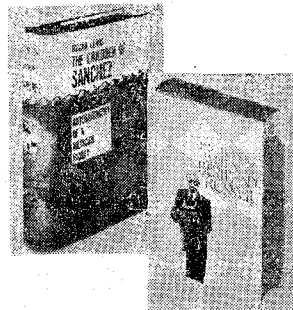
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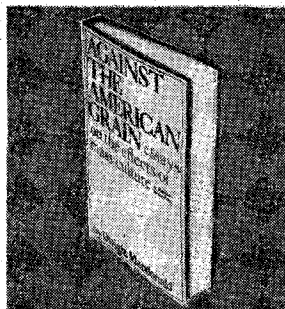
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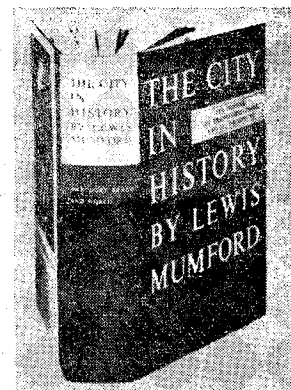
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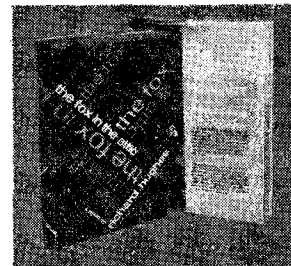
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